Tiago de Oliveira Pinto

"Crossed Rhythms": African Structures, Brazilian Practices, and Afro-Brazilian Meanings

1. Cross Atlantic cultures

Music belongs to the cultural domain that has been defined as intangible. In fact, immateriality is present from the very beginning of Afro-Brazilian history, since the "material" that African slaves could take with them across the Atlantic on their forced way to the Americas, was just their own body. When they succeeded in surviving the transatlantic passage, the only belongings Africans carried with them were ideas, religions, concepts, among which also their musicality. Any cultural goods introduced so far into the New World by Africans were intangible. This fact, which is absolutely singular if compared with the cultures of other diaspora – which always brought along some sort of resources – gains special importance when we accept the prominent position of body-based cultural expressions in Afro-American societies in general. Throughout history, the strong notion of a particular individual body of African slaves and their descendants also shaped the existence of a social body in the New World that is responsible for an immense amount of expressive forms, among them a rich and varied musical culture. Therefore, intangible cultural heritage regarding Afro-American music must be connected to a particular and strong "material" component, if we agree that once in the Americas, Africans could produce culture primarily through their own body. This body would express their ideas, beliefs, concepts, and a specific musicality, which, in its way, contained all of the previous.[1]

1 The recent broad discussion on cultural heritage has placed the human body as a central vehicle of intangible expressions. Ethnomusicological research, performance studies, and the experience with African culture in the Diaspora, strongly influenced this viewpoint (Gilroy 2001; Wulf 2004, among others).

When discussing Afro-Brazilian music, I refer rather to musicality, in connection with specific sound concepts, since music conceived as an audible product in and of itself, only would be valid in Western, but not in African, musical aesthetics. From a wider African perspective, it will therefore be easy to recognize that expressions like samba, *maracatu*, *capoeira*, etc. represent true Brazilian *music*, whereas their implied *musicality* can always bear an additional strong African character. Even if we are able to detect specific musical structures of African shape, the way they are used compose their "Africanity", sometimes more ubiquitously than the "African type". A similar process happens also the other way around, when Brazilian musicians use an instrument of apparent Portuguese or European origin, bringing it to sound in an "African" manner, although performing Brazilian music.

It took decades before musicology and ethnomusicology began to comprehend these multifaceted phenomena. The paradoxes between material and intangible expressions, between the apparent lack of logic evidences concerning concepts of African nature and the traditions of strong Catholic expression they are part of, or the contradiction, that African manifestations no longer remain attached exclusively to Afro-descendant Brazilians–all these and many other paradoxes become superficial in the moment in that one particular aspect emerge: there is a dynamic in the whole of the America's African culture that seems incommensurable, a source plenty of possibilities for local manifestations to become national and, above all, for national musical expressions to obtain world wide recognition.

2. Ethnomusicology

In its previous form as comparative musicology in Europe and North America and as musical folklore studies in Brazil, ethnomusicology paid attention to African Brazilian music only relatively late. Especially for European scholars, the presence of African cultural elements in South America was not considered an authentic cultural expression of the country, nor as an African output since, in their opinion, Africa only embraced the area at the other side of the Atlantic. Similarly, cultural anthropology of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the New World was mainly interested in indigenous populations. United States and Brazilian cultural anthropology turned their focus

on Afro-American traditions later. In Europe it took even longer for a factual anthropological interest in Afro-Americans to arise. This can be recognized in the large collection of Edison wax cylinders in the Phonogram Archive of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, brought together from all parts of the world until the late 1930s. Almost no recording of Afro-American expression will be found among these early recordings, collected and archived for ethnological research (Simon 2000).

Brazilian musicologist Mário de Andrade (1887-1945) first understood the importance of African cultural history in Brazil and in the America's through its musical expressions.[2] For him musicological study could be understood properly only in connection with other cultural domains, like language, literature, games and dramatic plays, visual art and the ever-changing socio-cultural context in the New World. To believe in indigenous music as the only "authentic" one in Brazil never made sense to Andrade. It is true that one of his uncompleted book projects, *A Música dos Brasis*, was devoted mainly to the music of Brazilian Indians, but this was merely one among other projects on traditional music in the country.

Mário de Andrade believed in the interaction between expressive arts; therefore, the interdisciplinary approach was unquestionable for the study and documentation of musical traditions in his country (Pinto 2006). As head of the Cultural Department of the city of São Paulo for a short period of time, Andrade was able to organize a musical research mission to the Northeast of Brazil *(Missão das Pesquisas Folclóricas)* in 1933. With Mário de Andrade, Brazilian ethnomusicology soon recognized the importance of a dialogue between the humanities.

Andrade's approach was typical for Brazil. Whereas after the Second World War European and North American universities developed ethnomusicological theoretical approaches, research in Brazil could not rely on a specific methodology. Musicological study was still part of a larger repertoire of the humanities without a proper, delimited place. This would change only by the late 1970s.

2 Bahian physician Raimundo da Nina Rodrigues and particularly ethnologist Arthur Ramos, who pioneered Afro-Brazilian studies in Brazil, although without having a musicological basis for their research.

An important aspect of the history of ethnomusicology is the experience with sound recordings, which became part of anthropological research since 1907, when German ethnologists Theodor Koch-Grünberg (from 1911 to 1913) and Wilhelm Kissenberth (from 1907 to 1909) travelled through the Amazon region making the first sound recordings in the field, which later were analysed by comparative musicologist Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and others in Berlin. The impact of the Edison Phonograph's recorded exotic sound from all over the world on Western research was rather impressing The possibility of transporting sounds and extending them outside their original contexts through phonographic recording gave European scholars the opportunity to substantially renew their knowledge of the "other". It is, in a certain way, thanks to the phonograph that the Western academic world became aware of the relativity of concepts of what is music and what is not. This development consolidated ethnomusicology as a discipline.

Systematic sound recordings in the 1950s and 1960s in Africa (Hugh Tracey, Gilbert Rouget, André Didier, Gerhard Kubik) helped to fill the gaps in the musical land chart of the continent. The constitution of new musical forms in Africa under the impact of Afro-American music from the 1940s on – *highlife* in Ghana, *kwela* in South Africa or the Congo *rumba* in Zaïre/Congo (Rycroft 1961/62, Kubik 1965; 1966) – led to a new awareness of musical parallels or similarities and their historical connections with cultural areas on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Ethnomusicological research contributed to the rise of consciousness on cultural diversity through music.

In describing and trying to understand African or Afro-American musical culture, however, one was still indebted to Western musicological terminology. To find new terminology and to adapt those of musicological common sense has always been a challenge for ethnomusicological research. Significantly, early terminology for African music came from jazz research (Waterman 1952). In addition, cultural and social sciences contributed enormously not only with methods, but with terminology as well.

New Brazilian ethnomusicology finally has been preoccupied with cultural areas on both sides of the Southern Atlantic, addressing questions arising in the last two decades. Without having achieved any

definite conclusion, some of these topics came up in cultural studies as well as in African, Caribbean, and Latin American literary theory.

A Selection of Studies in Afro-Brazilian Music

Music, dance and movement	Mário de Andrade, 1937
Old slave work songs *(vissungos)*	Ayres da Mata Machado Filho, 1948
Sound structures; the musician	César Guerra-Peixe, 1950
The popular song	Oneyda Alvarenga, 1959
Historical links, comparative research, musical structures, Angolan traits and its functions	Gerhard Kubik, 1979
Bantu musical contribution to Brazil	Kazadi wa Mukuna, 1979
Anthropology of music, music making and musical concepts	Tiago de Oliveira Pinto, 1986
Historical sambas in Rio de Janeiro	Carlos Sandroni, 2001
Ethnography of musical rites and applied ethnomusicology, community-based research projects	Francisca Marques, 2004
Discourse and musical sociability in urban peripheral contexts, community-based research projects	Samuel Araújo & group, 2006

3. Sources and structures

In historical terms, the diversity of African cultures in Brazil is intimately linked to the geographical origins of the African slaves brought to the country. Regarding the transatlantic connections, a continuous "flux and reflux" of Africans of Brazilian birth and sundry goods contributed to this diversity.

Musicological studies of sound structures across the Atlantic gain special importance in the context of reconstructing the history of the Atlantic of the past five centuries. This is possible because, apart from miscegenation, syncretism, or hypotheses of cultural hybridity, the African musical heritage in the New World shows us that there is never a total blending of its different elements in sound and performance structures. Vestiges of its origins remain intact as in few other

areas of culture; no amount of mixing is able to completely eliminate the marks and structures of these musical styles. Therefore music manages to manifest the present while simultaneously evincing its past.

How can we address the history of African structures in musical practices and their meanings in Brazil? Few written sources directed specifically to this musical phenomenon are available until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even less, and only occasionally, we find some documentation in musical scores. Therefore, we assume basically two sources for the research of this music, one essentially historical and the other of a systematic character:

(1) The documentation and evaluation of historical sources: written and iconographic sources, and objects such as musical instruments;
(2) The documentation and systematic evaluation of contemporary field material (audio recordings, film, video, photos, empiric facts, oral culture).

Depending on the focus of the research, African and Afro-American sources are consulted comparatively. It is already impossible to speak generally of "traditional music", rather of translations of a certain period in a specific cultural space. Any comparison, however, has to be done with utmost care.

Important examples of historical sources are iconographies in travel accounts or in archives of artists. Many of them are already known, while others are still awaiting analysis. Or, in the specific case of musical practices, the material aspect becomes most important, in the first place the musical instruments. We have examples of old instruments in museums and private collections, whose moment of fabrication might demonstrate significant historical links with specific regions of the African continent (Kubik 1979; 1986). Musical iconographies as well as the study of musical instruments are central for ethnomusicology.

When we are attentive to reading historical sources, we can find surprising facts. Jean-Baptiste Debret, the famous French artist and chronicler, who was in Brazil from 1816 to 1831, makes a key observation in his *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834). He refers to the various African nations of the slaves in the streets of Rio

de Janeiro, recognizable through their dances and songs. Debret argues that when the African is overwhelmed by nostalgia for his country, he intones a song, and then the others back him and contribute with a strange refrain based on only two or three notes. They stand in a circle and mark the rhythm by clapping in their hands.

Debret observes here a rhythmical pattern in the Afro-Brazilian cultural context that today has extended to almost everywhere in Brazil. We can transcribe its pattern in the following way:

(8) x . . x . x . .
(x = struck pulsation; . = mute pulsation or pause)

We have here the proof of a "time-line", an essential element in African music, the rhythmical formula that orientates the other musicians involved.

To exemplify some basic elements of the sonorous structure and its relationship with movement sequences, we take the example of the samba taught in samba schools, the most famous ones in Rio de Janeiro. In these schools, sound and movement know different levels of configuration, partly represented by the instrumental groups of the orchestra. Let's take a closer look at six of these levels of configuration, which contain elements to be found in several musical cultures in Africa, independently of the specifics of their performance:

Elementary pulses: these are shorter units, which serve as a base to the musical sequence. The samba is always based on a cycle of sixteen pulsations, which according to the degree of strengthening "neutralizes" the pulsations of shorter duration without a pre-established accentuation. The beats introduced by the musicians and the musical accents ultimately play on the base of one of these elementary pulsations. These short units leave as little distance between two tones as possible. During a musical succession, the elementary pulsations can become audible or visible through dance and movement.

Beat & off-beat: the beat as resounded by large *surdo* drums marks the rhythmical rise and fall of the samba. The marking consists of the *beat* and the *off-beat*, whereas samba players speak about "questioning" and "answering." They perform this marking on their percussion instruments of a different size. In relationship to the elementary pulsation this marking can be represented in the following way:

(16) . . . . . .
(16) x . . . x . . . x . . . x . . .

Time-line-pattern: the rhythmical line of samba. It is an asymmetrically structured and cyclical sequence of strokes that generally is performed on a high or sharp tone, especially on the small frame drum *(tamborim)*. Called "time-line", such formulas are in reality composed of elementary pulsations, heard or silent. So it is possible to perceive in the "time-line" the basic rhythm of the piece concerning its cycle of elementary pulsations, for instance, eight, twelve, or sixteen. The rhythmical line in the samba consists of sixteen elementary pulsations that figure as a cyclical line:

(16) x . x . x x . x . x . x . x x .

The "time-line patterns" are responsible for a variety of repertoires of Brazilian music and function as orientation for the further parts of the musical performance. Moreover, historical links become manifest, confirming, for instance, the Bantu origin of the *samba-de-roda* or the Yoruba and/or Fon of the Gege-Nago Candomblé. Therefore, and similar to ethnolinguistic research, the profound study of music, such as that realized in the research of Gerhard Kubik, contributes as scientific support to reconstruct the history of the African cultures in Brazil, namely the *kachacha* rhythm from Angola:

(16) x . x . x . x . xx . x . x . x

Due to the stability of this musical element, the time-line formulas survived in the Brazilian diaspora and in the migrations within Africa so that in the analysis of African and African-American music, it is possible to attribute "diagnostic" qualities to them. We see this, for instance, in the formula of twelve in the Candomblé:

(12) x . x x . x . x . x x .

Fluctuation of rhythmical patterns: this concerns the difficulty of registering certain rhythmical evolutions of the samba in the score of the Western system of transcription. This system is not related to polyrhythmic structures or apparently irrational values of the samba, which come from a continuous fluctuation inherent to the musical flood almost imperceptible at its conception.

Tonal melodies: the samba and many other musical genres do not know the temporal organization of rhythms. Many musicians call the "melodic sounds" they are playing *melodies*. The sound of an instrument can be creatively transfigured through different performance techniques.

Movement as a component of music: this is valid for many musical cultures from Africa. Music is rarely understood as a purely acoustic phenomenon; it is expressed through the music on the one hand and, on the other, through the listener who "listens" with his whole body. The duration of the tones of different extensions – a half note, a charter note, a quaver, etc. – seems a bit strange for the musical sensibility of the samba players. On the contrary, the technique of the samba is based on a large number of "action units" of beats, pauses, and up and down movements, which are simultaneous or consecutive. They all fit in the scheme previously established by the elementary pulsation. Consequently, when a movement produces a sound or is "silently" performed, it participates in the whole of the musical performance.

The above-outlined levels of configuration are linked in a relatively stable continuity, thus establishing a strict order of sounds and movements. To decipher the internal organization of these interdependent facts means recognizing the broadest musical structure in its multiple details. In an analysis of a *berimbau* (a musical arch instrument) played by a "mestre de capoeira" (teacher of *capoeira*) in Santo Amaro da Purificação in Bahia State, I departed from short units, those that identify the *toque*, to observe how the larger units were going to be constructed. My intention was to observe the construction of the music in a predetermined and organized form regarding the disposition and combination of the shorter parts. I concluded that what the musicians call *improviso* has nothing unforeseen in reality because it obeys the rules of combination and among the shorter parts. Unexpected developments are certainly possible can happen but always within what is foreseeable, which is determined by the musical culture of the *berimbau* in the Recôncavo Baiano. To understand this music, therefore, requires knowledge of the local musical setting. A recognized teacher of the instruments and composer imposes his individual version without ignoring the existing musical rules.

The definition of the musical pattern – an important structural element of music called *toque* in Brazil – also surfaces when we see that the African concept of "pattern" is hardly linear but multi-directional. Let's go back to the musical repertoire of the *berimbau*. When trying to define what the local term *toque* means, we see two basic components for its definition:

(1) the horizontal component – the rhythmical-metrical sequence that extends itself over a cycle of at least eight half-note pulsations;
(2) the vertical component – the variability in the reach of the tones, or a successive disposition of two distinct tones in the cycle of pulsations.

One of the definitions of the pattern in African music as being "a longer sequence repeated consecutively" is also applicable to rhythmical formulas in the most varied Afro-Brazilian orchestra, as well as for playing the *berimbau*. For this last instrument I found that the production of its sound is anchored in the regular succession of two different basic tones, which are repeated cyclically, constantly announcing the beginning of a new one (Pinto 1991: 71-78).

The performance is much more illustrative than the sounds fixed in an annotation system, the comparison of diverse repertoires and techniques for musical performances, or when pieces of music played on the xylophone, drums, and the *berimbau* are transcribed. Much more than the pure acoustic experience, it is important to see with which movements the musician is generating his sounds. In African or Afro-Brazilian music, some movements produce a variety of sounds according to the quality of the movement. Other types of movements, which leave out sound, give sequence to a continuity of an organized performance.

4. Meaning in Afro-Brazilian musical performance

After presenting briefly a few of the structural elements in African and Afro-Brazilian music performance practices, the question arises, whether the meaning of these musical languages gain new semantically relevant contents when they cross the Southern Atlantic Ocean.

"Musical meaning" is a topic that has been questioned almost as long as the existence of a theoretical explanation about music. Also, much has been written about whether music has meaning, how it functions, and how it can be described. In any case, meaning in music is to be treated differently than meaning in literary works, although, especially in Africa, musical sound structures and spoken language are intimately linked. More generally, I propose an initial explanation of musical meaning in Afro-Brazilian culture based on the function of a specific piece of music, its role within a broader performance framework, as well as on the effect and impact the entire piece evokes (Tomlinson 1991).

In the context of samba, *maracatu*, *capoeira*, etc., musical performance comprises the process from structures of sound and movement to patterns of meaning. This process from the morphology of sound to the framing of events is particularly instructive in order to understand African presence in the history and culture of the Americas, since functional meanings transcend and are independent of musical structures only. The logic found in the relations of various factors that work together and constitute the performance practice, links it with a wider dimension, understood as a worldview, intrinsic to such manifestations as *capoeira* or samba. It is important to say, anyhow, that those musical structures we are dealing with represent cultural features without bearing any preconceived intention per se. This suggests that in its purest acceptation as an expressive form, music is absolutely devoid of pre-conceived imagination, including discrimination or racism. When they appear, meanings of this sort are injected into musical structures *a posteriori*. As non-verbal communication, which conveys its specific messages, even if they cannot be deciphered in the mode a verbal text is translated, music always remains a system open for semantic input. This property may explain why music has been used so widely to express feelings, to formulate social contest, or to reaffirm cultural identity, especially in Latin America.

In fact, the quest for translating meaning out of the musical process cannot be compared with the decoding of verbal meaning. An example from the *capoeira* repertory illustrates this: *Apanha laranja do chão Tico-tico* ("Take up the orange from the ground, Tico-tico") is a verbalized phrase used to memorize and characterize a musical pattern, especially in melo-rhythmic terms. At the same time, the pat-

tern contains a specific code for dance movements. In this case, the semantics of the verbal phrase are less important, if at all. Memorizing musical patterns with syllables or short phrases is an orally-based procedure for transmitting musical culture in Africa, which has been kept in Brazil, as this specific musical bow *(berimbau)* pattern demonstrates.

Translating meaning from one language is a complex procedure, which in anthropological linguistics involves more than simply going from one native language to another:

> It implies a long series of interpretations and decisions that are rarely made apparent in the final product ... As Malinowski maintained ... translation assumes an ability to match words with the context in which they were uttered (Duranti 1997: 154).

In our case, searching for meaning in a non-verbal communication system like music and finding it concretized in words with clear semantics is only possible within the communication system of the manifestation as a whole. Anthropologists document the spoken language; they transcribe myths and oral literature with their own linguistic methods. Music is different. Even if it represents a semiotic unit, its semantic content cannot be translated or unequivocally understood by anyone who listens to it (Eco 1976). But, as argued, an explanation of particular meaning laid down in musical structures can function if analyzed within its cultural system. Thus, the idea that the basis of meaning rests in the manners of relations that signs like words, gestures, dance movements, sounds, colours, or mimicry have with one another in a specific cultural system, remains valid for the exploration of musical culture on both sides of the Southern Atlantic Ocean. Regarding this transatlantic cultural transfer, music has functioned always as a medium for knowledge and cultural behavior.

To give an example from Africa and a final one from Brazil on the study of multipart aspects of music and its verbal concepts, the outlining of precise native theories can contribute to domains of scholarly interest much ahead of supposed ethnomusicological concerns. Although terms like polyphony, polyrhythm, or hocked are Western-based terms, there are some basic ideas which are broader and regard the concept of “multipart” in music. Music as sound always belongs to a larger unit of expressive culture and its correlated forms of expression. Speaking of Shona music, the Ghanaian musicologist K. Nketia

mentioned "multipartness" as the understanding that the Shona people of Zimbabwe bring in their performances when they use the word *kutengezana* to mean the sum of all the parts in a performance. Among these people the wholeness and unity of all of life is kept in mind (Nketia 1974). The musical contribution to this phenomenon comes out through the successive parts of a performance, the simultaneousness of musical lines, as well as by the involvement of the different human actors and their understanding of the semantically-relevant underlying sound structures.

Meaning through musical performance also surfaces also in connection with verbalized concepts, when the diaspora forces the contact between African and European performance traditions and thoughts. In the Recôncavo Baiano in Bahia, the tradition of the *viola-da-samba* or the *machete* (small guitar) reflects one of these conceptions, truly local theories, which make use of a completely re-signified Western terminology. This local modality of the Bahian samba, which has no relationship whatsoever with the samba of the samba-schools in Rio de Janeiro, has been included in the list of masterpieces of the immaterial Patrimony of Human Culture of UNESCO in November 2005. In a certain way it is one of the direct precursors of the samba of Rio because it arrived with the migrants from the Northeastern region of Bahia State to Rio, when this city was still the capital of Brazil.

The characteristic instrument of this samba of the Recôncavo is the small *viola*, also called *machete*, of Portuguese origin, more precisely of the Island of Madeira. However, the Bahian version of the instrument shows that it would be an error to insist on this origin for understanding this musical tradition because the provenance of the instrument is in no way responsible for the music played on it. Similarly, the use of determined musical terminology does not reflect a priori the concepts it comprises. We know that African concepts, or their derivatives, crystallize independently of whether the instrument genuinely belongs to the African traditions or not. The evidence is the innumerous regional styles of music for the guitar in Africa, the US (in the blues, for example), and in the Recôncavo, with its *samba-de-viola*. In such a way, "crossed rhythms" produced on the strings of this instrument sound as an allegory of different cultural elements, which meet and produce new configurations, recreating symbolic values and historical knowledge in virtue of new social significations.

In the case of the *machete*, the responsible conception for the sonorous production is based in a "spatio-motor-thinking" (Bailey 1995), in which is found

- defined patterns of sequences of movements;
- specific techniques of interlinking of two rhythmical configurations, produced by the forefinger and the thumb of the right hand; and
- in relationship with the accentuation and harmony of the whole.

All these elements manifest a musical mentality of their own, clearly African. Besides, this theoretical reference board of the music of the *machete* of Bahia State is based on the notion of five distinct "tones": *ré-maior, dó-maior, lá-maior, sol-maior*, and *mi-maior*. Meanwhile, the semantics of this terminology are much more far-reaching than those of the musical theories taught in European conservatoriums, since this knowledge is bound to terms as *ré-maior, dó-maior*, etc. without taking the concept of the repertoire of the *samba-de-viola* into account. Although the absolute tonal relationship between the five *tons de machete* coincide with the Western tonality concept, the local native theory goes into another direction. It values the "*machete* tone", i.e. the sonorous realization of patterns of a defined movement, as we have seen above. Each one of the five "tones" has its formulas of movement and its own acoustic experience as well as implies the degree of highness of each one of the tones on an imaginary scale.

The acoustic-motional patterns of each "*machete* tone" contain an aesthetic character that will have its repercussions in the music and in the choice of the "tone" at the moment of its performance in the band. The "tone" that is most suited for the accompaniment of a samba *puxado* (led by the drums) for singing the *chula* verses in a "free" and "excited" way is *ré-maior*, whereas *mi-maior* is considered the "heaviest" and "hardest" tone. The *ré-maior* is played preferably to bring a good mood to a party and the feet of the dancers into a steady swinging rhythm as well as to offer a favorable basis for singing the improvised *chula* verses answered by the singers. In order to test a drummer who has just arrived, the players introduce the *mi-maior* tone, already difficult by nature, but even more so for the dancers. The precise differentiation between the five "*machete* tones" in the musical practices and conversations and comments among the musicians re-

reveals important aspects of the musical theory of the Recôncavo Baiano.

There are certainly many other aspects of Africa-influenced sonorous structures and musical performances, which have an audible and visible continuity in Brazil and in other parts of the American continent – for instance, different melodic rules, laws of polyphony, a combination of letters and music, the polymeters, or the study of dance – each of them representing a universe of its own. All of them certainly have in common the "Africanist" characteristics of sensibility in thinking and doing expressed in music and in its movements, as well as in dancing and in the instrumental performance, or even in the listening or active body-based participation of the audience. More than all this, however, this brief recapitulation attests that the categories presented above may contribute to a detailed vision for a profound revaluation of the cultural and social studies in Brazil and Latin America. At the same time our knowledge of the African influences in Brazilian cultures is growing. This is what I mean when speaking of "rhythms that cross" everywhere. They respond to time lines that teach, guide, and accompany Brazilians today. They report the similarities in historical past and present and make us understand the presence of rhythms and distant lines in the New World, exactly because they are familiar to so many of the people living on both sides of the Southern Atlantic Ocean.

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